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836 Premarital chastity is expected in the girl. The maidenhead is considered the proof of virginity. A marriage may be abrogated [586] if a bride is found to have been unchaste, and a girl who is deserted [585] for this reason brings disgrace to herself and her family.

But, because of the heightened round of physical activity at about the time of adolescence and the encouragement of early marriage, premarital sexual activity does not become a serious 462 problem. Of great importance, also, is the existence of separate 867 spheres of activity for men and women. This dichotomy tends to draw the child's interest away from situations which involve the other sex and causes him to seek recognition, rather, in those outlets unequivocally masculine or unequivocally feminine.

867 An Apache boy is trained not to pay too much attention to the women. It is 834 not considered manly. The Apache girl is expected to be reserved, and a show of affection in public between the sexes is laughed at. This training becomes a part of the Apache's thought. He sees it all around him. He notices who is laughed at and who is thought well of, and why. This bashfulness, the unwillingness openly to show a lot of feeling for one of the other sex, is carried right through. It comes out in courtship. It comes out even in marriage.

834 Of an aberrant girl who violates the conventions in this re- 156 gard, the following criticism was offered:

Unlike most Chiricahua girls, she is not bashful. If she came in the room here, she would start talking to you. Lots of the old Indians hold this against her. It is considered too forward for a boy to walk up to a girl and start talking a lot. But when I see this girl I go up to her and start talking. I wouldn't dare do that with any other woman. She will hail someone at a dance before a lot of other people. Many of the older people do not like her for this.

834 Since casual contact between the sexes is discouraged, any overt signs of friendliness between men and women suggest the desire for intimacy. Once when an informant had gone to some trouble to reach a man's camp, he declined to wait there for his friend who was expected back in a short time, saying, "Well, it wouldn't look well if C. came and found me here with these women. C. and I are great friends, and I wouldn't want him to think anything bad of me."

"The feeling is that a man should go his way with his friends and a woman her way with her friends." Anything else is effemi- [836] nacy on the man's part, forwardness on the woman's. These are

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face—these are not considered good-looking. A full oval face is liked and medium height, not too tall. We like small hands and feet, but not too thin. A plump, full body is best. Legs should be in proportion to the rest of the body and not too thin. Mouth and ears should be in proportion to the rest of the face, not big.

Premarital sex experiences.—Parents are not always successful in bringing a daughter to marriage a virgin. Occasional cases of rape have been reported.

Rape is classed as stealing. Sometimes a man is killed for this. It is more serious to attack an unmarried than a married woman. If the person who did it is found out, there is bound to be revenge by a member of the family who have been wronged. This is individual revenge or revenge backed by a family. It does not involve all the people.

If the woman is married, the husband has the right to do anything to the one who mistreated her. The man's relatives may try to smooth it over for him. Payment is often offered.

The girl, instead of being an innocent victim, may carry on a clandestine affair. This is known as "night crawling," or, literally, "he crawls up to someone." One moonless night I was talking with two men, one young and one old. The young man remarked, "It's a good time for night crawling." The old man laughed, explained the meaning of the phrase, and added: "It's something that used to happen in the old days too. The word was used in the old times. But to do this was considered a disgraceful thing. A man would be beaten if he was caught at it. When you do this to a virgin, they kill your horses if you are caught."

If sexual relations between two young people are discovered, the girl's family has suffered an economic loss. Should the young man not be considered eligible by the parents, their anger is particularly aroused, for they have probably lost a chance to marry their daughter worthily and yet cannot force a suitable match from the intrigue. In this case "the parents of the girl have the right to handle the boy. They won't demand payment. They demand punishment, physical punishment." "When a girl goes wrong, it is considered very serious. It is up to the girl's parents. The man might be killed. Usually the couple is made to marry." As the last sentence indicates, the average family is likely to take the philosophical view:

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583 It would be a mistake to interpret these presents as a "bride price." They do not entitle the husband or his family to any extraordinary control over the wife or her property. In fact, the control exercised by the wife's family over the husband is much more stringent than that to which the woman is subject, despite the total absence of any exchange gifts to the man's family. Moreover, these gifts or their equivalents are never returned, not even in cases of unfaithfulness on the part of the woman or of dissolution of the marriage tie.

[182] [602] [606] The marriage gift functions as initial evidence of the economic support, co-operation, and generosity which a man owes his wife's close relatives. The promise of future assistance can even take the place of the gift on occasion, for it is said that a poor man, unable to muster wealth at the time he wishes to marry, might say: "I am poor, but whatever I am able to accumulate in the way of material things will be yours, for I will be here with you all the time."

The usual practice, after the presents have been received, is to "divide them up among the relatives." Kin of the girl who have contributed to her support and who have been consulted about the marriage arrangements, are sure to receive some part, if only a token offering.

• 585 [591] As soon as a separate dwelling can be built and equipped, the young couple begin their married life together, without ritual or formalities:

> A day or two after consent is given, the marriage takes place. As soon as everything is ready they start living together. The girl and her female relatives build the house. They put it up near the home of the girl's parents, for the young people usually go to live with the girl's relatives. The relatives of the girl usually furnish baskets and household equipment for the place, though sometimes the man's family may give them things with which to start out.

591 606 This emphasis upon matrilocal residence calls attention to one of the fundamental themes of the culture, for the organization of the economy assumes the presence and the closest co-operation of the sons-in-law.

> A man feels under obligation to his father-in-law. He feels that he should hunt for him. Therefore, there was the tendency in the old days to go to the wife's people. A man's parents recognized this obligation too. They often said, "Well, that's what you married for. You'd better go over there."

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Residence with or near his affinities is almost imperative for the man, for obviously it would be an insupportable burden for him to maintain a distant encampment of his own and still provide liberally for his wife's parents. Moreover, his identification with these affinal relatives is not without its reciprocal benefits. 591 606

At marriage a man goes to the camp of the girl's parents to live. We do this because a woman is more valuable than a man. We do it to accommodate the woman. The son-in-law is considered a son and as one of the family. The in-laws depend a great deal on him. They depend on him for hunting and all kinds of work. He is almost a slave to them. Everything he gets on the hunt goes to them. In return he has privileges with the property of his wife's people. He can get anything they have very easily. It is understood that he can call on them for aid. This relationship dates from the time of consent to the marriage. [562]

Sometimes the arrival of the groom is the signal for a celebration at the encampment of the bride to which relatives and friends of the couple are invited. The expense and labor are borne by the woman's relatives, although the man's kin, if they live close by, may assist. The program is the usual one of games, feasting, and social dancing. The festivities continue through a day and late into the night. 585 574

After marriage the face of the world is changed for the young man: he removes to another residence, he becomes drawn into the orbit of a new economic constellation, and he becomes subject to the edicts and desires of new masters. 585

THE MAN AND HIS WIFE'S RELATIVES

Primary avoidances and the avoidance behavior pattern.—The regular terms for various affinal relatives are all forms of one verb—the verb "to carry a burden." There have been recent extensions of the meaning of this root, but in the older sense the burden to which reference is made seems to have been the proceeds of the hunt: 601 192 601 192 224

I can say to anyone, "I will bring in [carry in] deer for you," using this word. Friends have said this to me because I do not hunt much. I say to them, using the same word, "Yes, bring in the game for me." This does not imply any relationship between us necessarily. On the other hand, when it comes to marriage, we speak of one who marries into our family as "one who carries things in for me" in the sense of "one who goes out and kills and carries in game for me." The word means to me that in the old days a son-in-law would go out and kill game [606]

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601 192 224 606 for his parents-in-law. The word implies to me that the man's business is to hunt in this fashion for me if I am the father-in-law. It is his obligation to do so forever.

601 602 192 [606] It is not alone the father-in-law who calls a son-in-law "one who carries burdens for me." Every relative of the wife, no matter how remotely connected, is entitled to so address or refer to the husband. And the term with which he reciprocates is simply another form of the same verb which means "one for whom I carry burdens."

584 602 606 From the moment that consent to the marriage has been given, a relationship of total avoidance is established between the husband and certain of his wife's relatives. With these persons, avoidance is the unalterable rule and no choice is permitted. "Even if your wife's parents don't approve of the marriage, they have to be ashamed [practice avoidance] anyway." These obligatory avoidance affinities are: the wife's mother, her father, her mother's mother, and her father's mother. Thus, when the young man comes to his new home, there are at least three affinal relatives living close by (providing they are still alive) upon whom he may not look, and who may not see him. Even at the marriage feast this rule of avoidance must be respected. Avoidance makes necessary certain precautions in the arrangement of homes and obviates the possibility of a common meal for the larger relationship group, even though its members share the same larder.

606 602 [591] [585] 606 591 264 596 602 [361] A man lives near his in-laws and brings what he gets on the hunt back to them, all of it. His food is prepared there at his mother-in-law's place anyway. The camp of the young people is so arranged that the place of the parents-in-law cannot be seen; it might be behind some brush with the door facing the other way. The wife eats with her husband, though the food is usually prepared at her mother's home.

593 264 606 [196] The bringing of food to the husband by the wife is termed "she sets something in a container before him":

This means the act of the wife in bringing to her husband food that has been prepared by her mother. The word is now jokingly used to lazy men in the sense of, "You want things pretty easy, don't you? You want things brought on a silver platter to you."

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855 778 787 789 756 Despite these several instances, to obtain a ceremony before or at the age of puberty is the exception rather than the rule. Since most children are without supernatural protection of their own and are, furthermore, particularly susceptible to certain kinds of "evil influence," their parents and other close relatives assume responsibility for them and provide them with amulets, arrange crisis rites, and hire shamans for them when necessary.

778 787 585 756 But whether or not an individual has formerly been concerned about supernatural aids, he seldom ignores them after he enters into the marriage relationship, for now he must afford supernatural protection to others, just as it was provided for him. Time after time, when supernatural power approaches someone and asks what is desired, the person is represented as replying, "Something good for my children in this world," or, "Something to help my family."

Encounters with supernatural power, then, can occur at almost any moment in an individual's life, but relations with power and the use of power are essentially adult pursuits, of immediate survival and social value to the newly married in their hope for a stable and fecund union.

756 798 *Supernatural power obtained by direct experience.*—No matter how eager a man is to acquire a ceremony, the first gesture is always attributed to the power, for power requires man for its complete expression and constantly seeks human beings through whom "to work."

> It seems that these powers select for themselves. Perhaps you want to be a shaman of a certain kind, but the power doesn't speak to you. It seems that, before power wants to work through you, you've got to be just so, as in the original time. You've got to believe in things as in the old days and carry everything out.

Not only does power come unbidden but it has more than one way of making itself manifest:

> Some hear it; the power speaks to them. Power usually comes in a voice to the one who is getting a ceremony. The songs and words are from the power that gives the ceremony. A person doesn't fast or prepare for it. It comes on him. Sometimes it appears to a person in a vision. F.'s vision went around the dwelling like a blessing.

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934) 1936
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would ask a kinsman to act as intermediary for him in seeking the girl's hand. This "go-between" would visit the girl's parents' encampment, offer presents, and seek to make the necessary arrangements. If the girl's relatives approved the offer, the girl and her mother erected a dwelling in the vicinity of the parental home, and the union was recognized as soon as the boy took up residence with his new wife. Sororal polygyny was permitted, and the young man, if he proved a successful hunter and good provider, was encouraged to marry the younger sisters of his wife as they matured. Both the sororate and the levirate were practiced. A man could be forced to marry a sister or female cousin of his dead wife, and the woman could not refuse her dead husband's brother or male cousin if he wished to marry her. At marriage the Apache man was obliged to observe an unusually large number of avoidances and special forms of speech in respect to his affinities. Among others, the Mescalero man avoids his mother-in-law, her mother, her mother's sisters, and her sisters. In addition to avoiding his wife's female relatives, the Chiricahua man is called upon to avoid his father-in-law and may be requested to avoid other of his wife's male relatives. More distant relatives of the wife might request a special form of address known as "polite form" instead of avoidance. Where a choice is possible and avoidance is requested of a man by the affinity, it signifies great love for the girl through whom the relationship has been established and approval of the match.

The Apache man who enters the extended family through marriage is expected to work unremittingly for his in-laws. All the game that he kills in the hunt is brought to his wife who carries it to her mother's home for utilization and distribution. Whatever parents-in-law command or suggest, a son-in-law is expected to perform.[3]

3. For the details of the Mescalero and Chiricahua kinship systems see Opler (21).